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**AMERICA**

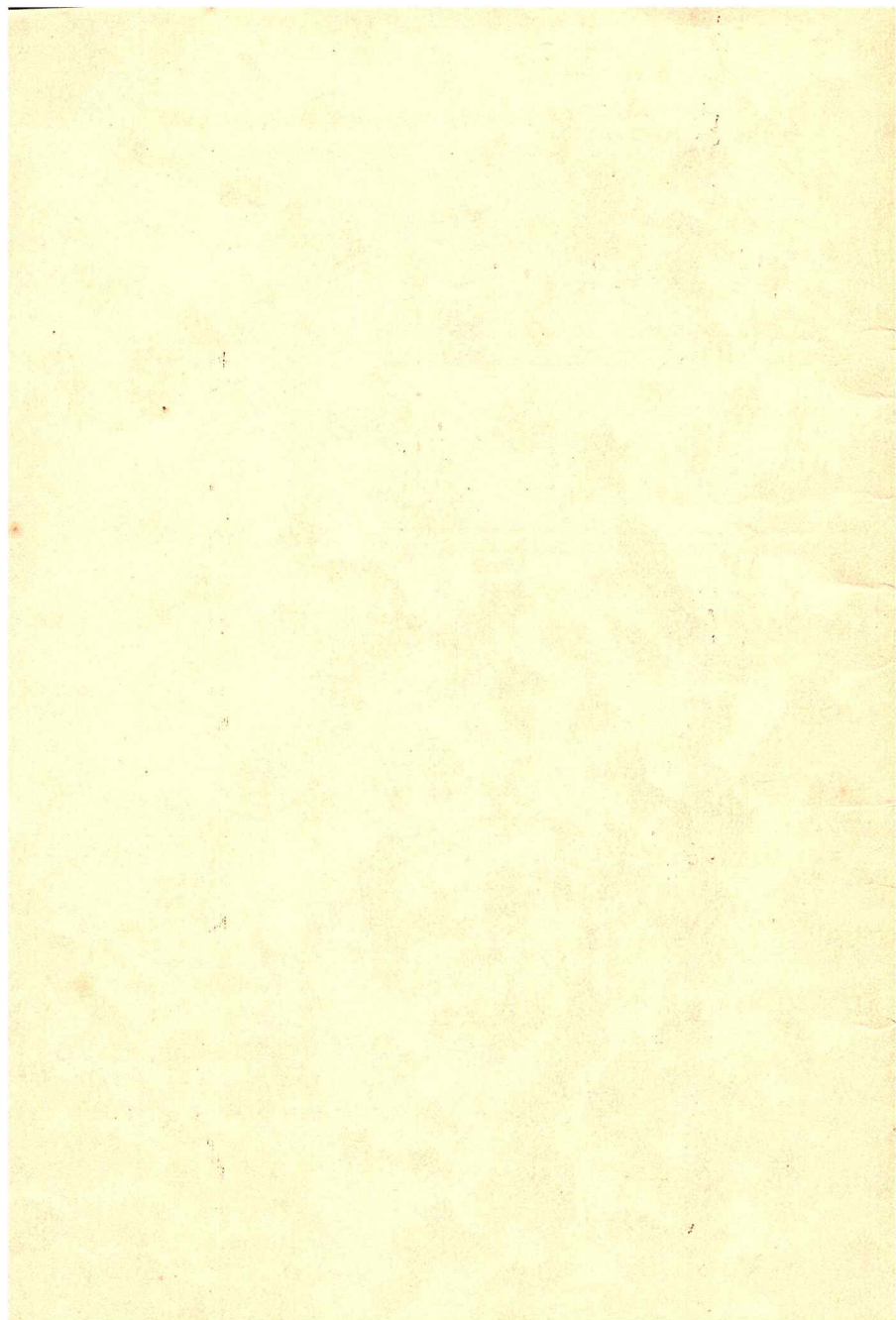
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**COMES IN**

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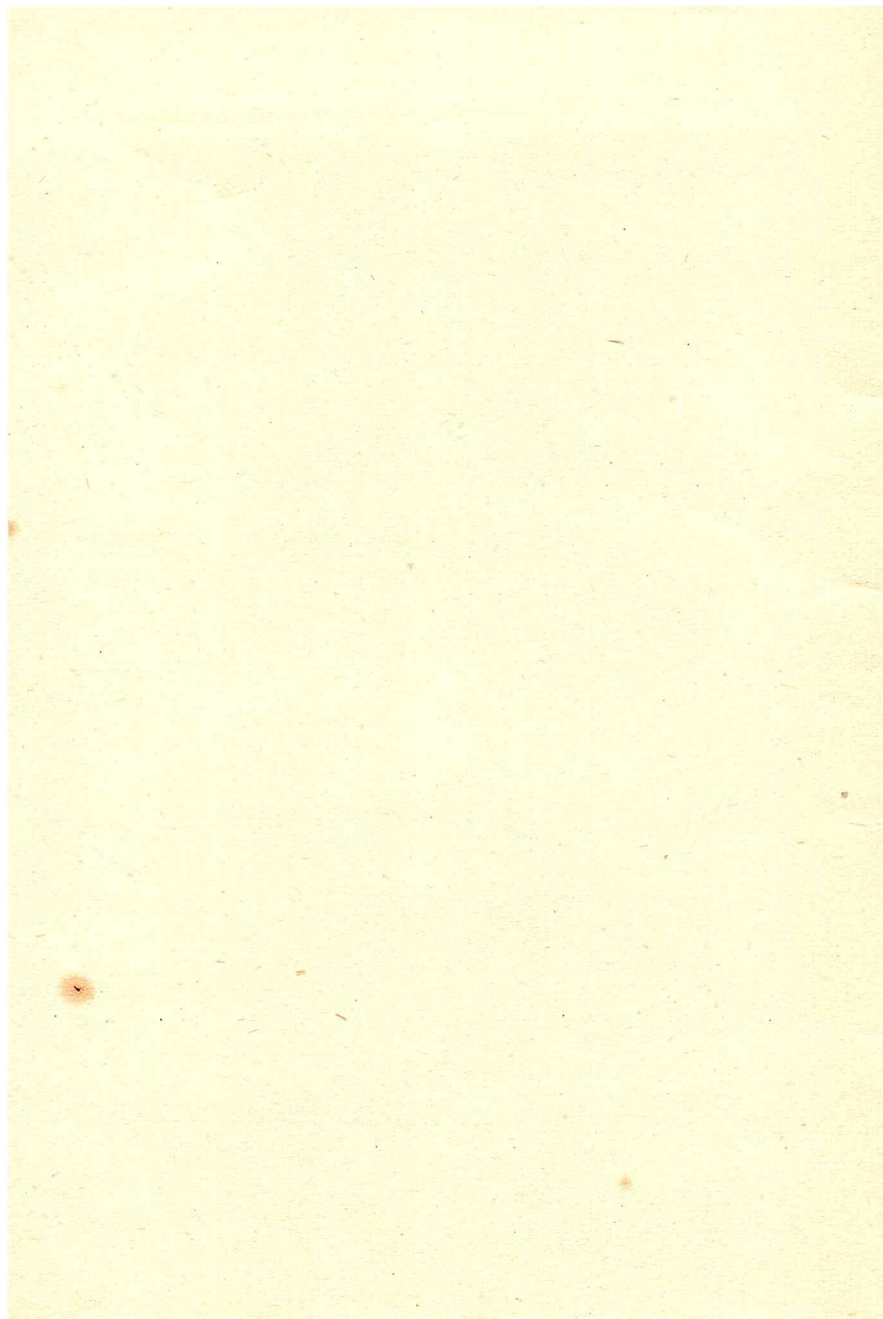
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BY  
**FRANK MILNER, C.M.G.**  
Rector  
Waitaki Boys' High School



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AMERICA COMES IN



# AMERICA COMES IN

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Rector Waitaki Boys' High School

*Author of "Our Cause and Our Faith"*



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## PREFACE

In "America Comes In," Mr. Frank Milner has written a brochure that has the merit of a thesis and to which his all too modest Foreword gives insufficient meed. He has compressed in a few pages a mass of weighty material, marshalled in its correct perspective, with his genius for appreciating the motives and movements of world affairs. Written in his vivid and arresting style, it unfolds a view of the international stage that many of us would pass by unconscious of its presentation.

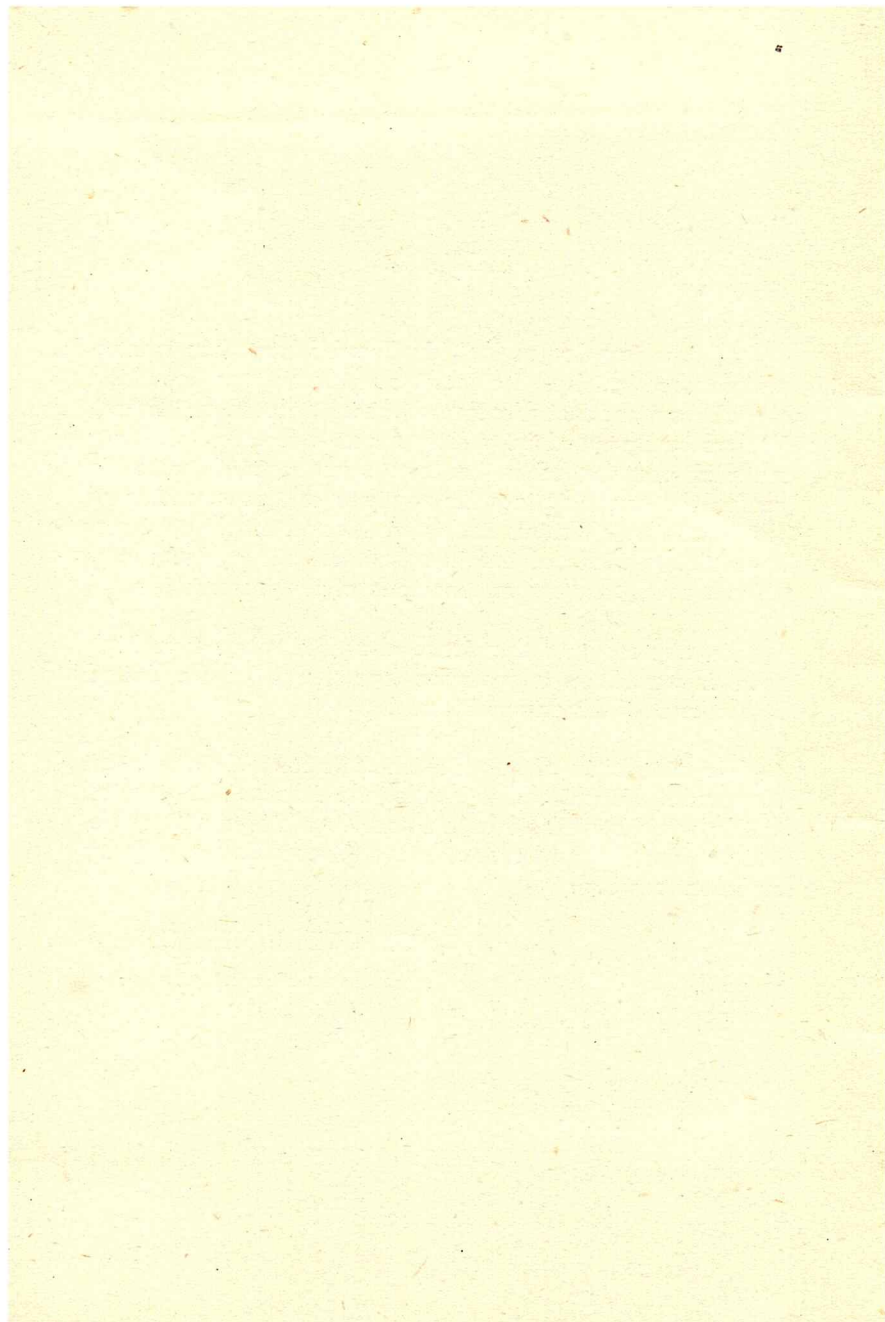
His depicting of the scene that he brings into high relief is based on a profound knowledge of the United States and of American history.

We members of the British-American Co-operation Movement are grateful to him for the time he has devoted to this work from the many demands of his exacting life, but to him its furtherance of a Great Cause will be sufficient reward.

CLAUDE H. WESTON.

Wellington,  
30th June, 1941.

(Mr. Weston is the President of The  
British-American Co-operation Movement.)



## WRITER'S FOREWORD

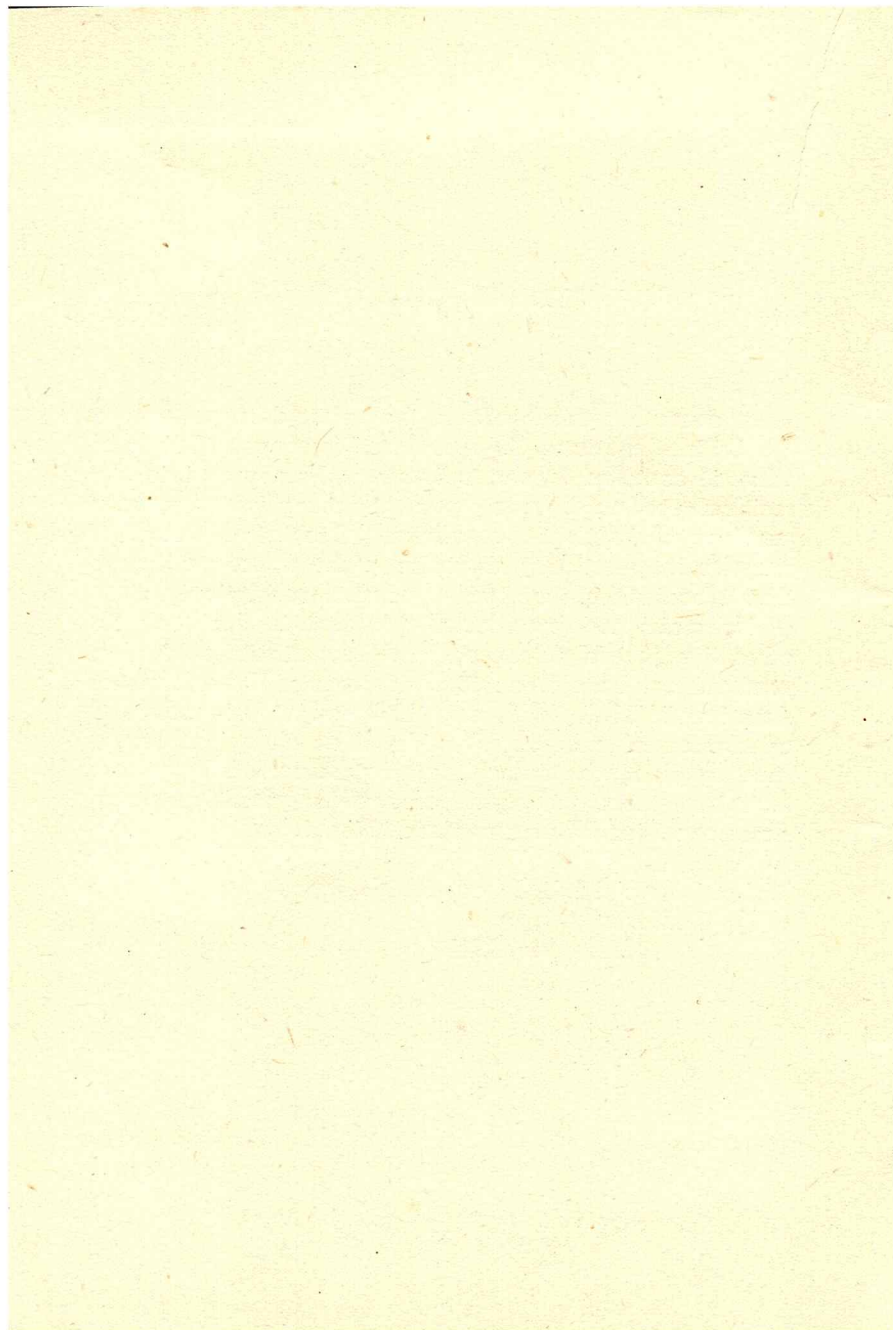
In compiling this brochure the writer desires to serve the British-American Co-operation Movement. Much of what it contains is platitudinous. Much more is the residual product of many years' reading in a favourite province of international affairs. Derivative though it may be in practically its entirety, the writer yet hopes that it bodies forth a sincere personal conviction.

No claim to any special qualification for such an educative job is advanced. A few facets only of a vast subject have been touched upon. Three tours of America in 1920, 1929, and 1933 led to this personal orientation of interest. A wide, if desultory, course of reading along the same lines, supplemented by public lecturing—these meagre credentials and personal American friendships prompted this break.

F. MILNER.

Waitaki Boys' High School,  
Oamaru,

24th June, 1941.



## AMERICA COMES IN.

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If there is a silver lining to this pall of war which darkens the whole world it is surely to be found in the growing sympathy, understanding, and co-operation of the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples. Here and perhaps here alone in the secular sense do we find any adequate compensation for the already terrible and still fast-increasing toll of young life, for this dislocation of civilisation, for this reversionary trend to the barbarism of the past, for this sublimation of brute force as the one decisive factor, a stark and bloody arbitrament for international relations. Desperate diseases demand heroic remedies. So deep-seated, so basic is the clash of ideals, of ways of life, in this grim struggle as to exclude any possibility of compromise or appeasement. Any negotiated peace means an inevitable recurrence of gangsterdom and a repetition of this stark holocaust for our children and children's children.

### SENTIMENT OR FORCE?

The way of freedom and the way of force can never be reconciled. It would be a cowardly betrayal on our part to victimise the next generation by a spurious peace, and visit upon them this Hun blizzard in intensified fury. Surely anyone who has studied Prussian history and familiarised himself with its fetishistic cult of militarism, its deification of force, and its sinister traditions must realise that there will be no peace or security for civilisation until this legend of German invincibility, of German

Nordic supremacy, and of German world dominance is irrevocably shattered not merely by force of argument, but by force of arms. What is at stake is too vital, too precious, to be clouded or balked by false sentimentality.

As evidence of the psychological background exploited by Hitler's impassioned appeals, let us recall typical utterances of national leaders in the provinces of scholarship, journalism, and the army prior to and during the World War of 1914-18.

**Professor Heinrich von Treitschke** (Berlin University):—"War always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race." "The greatest curse in life is sympathy. Sympathy does not serve any purpose except that of increasing the amount of suffering on earth without adding to its beauty. Sympathy does not help him to whom it is proffered, but it drags down him who proffers it to the level of others. I denounce Christianity as the one great curse, the one corruption, the one great instinct of revenge for which no means are too poisonous, treacherous, and small. I denounce it as the one undying disgrace of humanity."

**General von Bernhardi**:—"War is a biological necessity and the first important element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with. . . . It is necessary for every advancement of the race and, therefore, all real civilisation."

"War is the father of all things; the weaker must succumb to the stronger; it is not the possessor, but the victor who has the right. . . . The only course left is to acquire necessary territory by war."

**Herr Harden** (probably in his day the most influential journalist in Germany):—"Not against our will, and as a nation taken by surprise, did we hurl ourselves into this gigantic venture.

"We willed it; we had to will it. We do not stand before the judgment seat of Europe; we acknowledge no such jurisdiction . . ."

**Major-General von Disfurth**—(another defender of German ethics):—"No object whatever is served by taking any notice of the accusations levelled against Germany by their foreign critics . . . ."

"It is of no consequence whatever if all the monuments ever created, all the pictures ever painted, all the buildings ever erected by the great architects of the world be destroyed, if, by their destruction, we promote Germany's victory over her enemies . . . ."

"War is war and must be waged with severity. The commonest, ugliest stone, placed to mark the place of burial of a German Grenadier is a more glorious and venerable monument than all the cathedrals of Europe put together . . . ."

#### **MORE RECENT EXPRESSIONS OF NAZI IDEOLOGY.**

The dominating Prussian caste whose mentality has been moulded by centuries of aggressive warfare, international rape and pillage, has now manifested its cumulative contempt for every human and divine law and every moral code of civilisation. Here are sample pre-war utterances of German leaders of thought and action in the last ten years:—

**Dr. Ziegler**—(Professor Teachers' Training College):—"A religion which in any way indicates the struggle against the enemy of the country as a sin is for us Germans insupportable. The soldier cannot be burdened with scruples."

**Field-Marshal Ludendorf**:—"Total war is remorseless. It demands the last ounce in man and woman."

"It is an erroneous opinion if it is accepted that a war must begin with a declaration of war."

**Adolph Hitler** in "Mein Kampf" (unexpurgated German edition):—"Thus I claim to-day to be acting according to the intentions of the Almighty Creator. In resisting the Jews I am fighting to accomplish the work of the Lord."

"To-day I am led by the sober consideration that lost territories are not won back by the volubility of Parliamentary gas-bags, but must be won by a sharpened sword, that is, by a bloody struggle." . . . "What is not yielded to gentle persuasion will have to be taken by the strong right arm."

"Peace is not upheld by the olive branches of lacrimonious hired female mourners, but is established by the victorious sword of a master-nation."

"That state which devotes itself to the care of its best racial elements becomes one day lord of the earth."

**Hitler on Popular Education:**—"Universal education is the most corroding and disintegrative poison that liberalism has ever invented for its own destruction."

**Hitler on the Catholic Church:**—"If I wished to I could destroy the Church in a few years. It is hollow and rotten and false through and through."

**Hitler on the Protestants:**—"They have not the faintest conception of a Church. They are insignificant little people, submissive as dogs."

**Hitler to Rauschnig:**—"The men I want around me are those who like myself see in force the motive element in history. Moral commonplaces are indispensable for the masses. I am ready to stick at nothing."

**Frau Dr. Ludendorf** in "Getting Rid of Jesus Christ":—"Christianity and Buddhism underrate the sacred preservation of racial individuality."

"Our insight into the results of scientific research tell us that Jesus of Nazareth probably never lived or at least was only one of the many revolutionaries."

General Ludendorf adds—"Christianity, as my wife has most convincingly demonstrated, has destroyed the individual soul of the German people, indeed of all peoples whom it has penetrated. This power my wife and I oppose with the German vision and realisation of God."

It has been established beyond doubt that the Nazi

governmental propaganda machine, even before 1934, extended its nefarious activities over the world. This was done through Dr. Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda. It controlled in 1936 over 300 German newspapers in foreign countries. It established 30,000 Nazi organisations all over the world. Its emissaries were linguistically trained for subversive action in foreign lands. The Government maintained in Berlin a colossal bureaucracy under Dr. Goebbels for the development of these foreign activities in the promotion of Pan-Germanism. The Fichte Bund alone sent abroad each year from Hamburg over five million leaflets and over 100 tons of pamphlets in the Nazi service. Throughout the Balkans Nazi propaganda was rife for many years. Germany played a great part in fomenting Arab revolts in Palestine and in exploiting Pan-Islamism. The United States and South America especially have been honeycombed with Nazi agents, and consistently permeated with German spies, lecturers, journalists, and traders.

In its Bulletin of April 5th, 1941, the Royal Institute of International Affairs says:—

"Dr. Humphreys calculates that of the people of Argentine, 30% have Italian blood in their veins, and that more than a third of immigrants into Brazil between 1820 and 1930 were Italians. There are more than three-quarters of a million people of German stock in Brazil. Argentine has a German-speaking population of a quarter of a million, and in southern Chile there are large and prosperous German colonies. . . . The Germans have remained separate, maintaining their own schools, language, and culture . . . . German influence is very strong in air transport . . . . German and Italian lines, with affiliated companies, cover 20,000 miles. Hitler said to Rauschning:—'We shall create a new Germany in South America . . . . ' Of Brazil he said—'The lines serve political and military, rather than commercial aims.' They are arteries of totalitarian propaganda, nerve

centres of totalitarian espionage . . . . There is abundant evidence of the efforts made by Berlin to organise German colonies in Latin America as rallying points of Nazi propaganda and action." Never before in the world's history has there been such a scientifically elaborated campaign of mind-corruption and envenomed subversion. Germany has for years waged remorselessly this insidious but camouflaged warfare against the basic cherished ideals of Western Civilisation. The ramifications of Nazi International know no bounds and no scruples.

### **HITLER'S TECHNIQUE AND POWER.**

When we summon the conjoined might of the British Empire and America to face, to quell, and to kill out this ugly thing we appeal to the only power on earth that can exorcise this devildom from the Hun. With devilish psychological divination, he has captured the idealism of youth, all their revolutionary urge and with it the wider pathological unrest of post-Versailles Germany, has imbued it with his ferocious philosophy, and equipped it throughout an unremitting decade with all the hellish war paraphernalia that perverted science can provide. And then with a crafty and mendacious subtlety that flouts every principle of honour and decency he sets grimly to work to blast his way to European, if not world, domination. The swastika now flaunts triumphantly over 14 countries of Europe. Every people in Europe linked by land with Germany has yielded homage to his sway. Hitherto the key to Russia's policy of vacillating, cynical opportunism is her dread of Hitler's mechanised battalions. The concurrence of the trinity of so-called Have-Not Powers intensifies the black import of this picture and its dread menace to civilisation, but now Hitler's treacherous gangster attack on Russia calls into existence an opposing and irresistible trinity of the Have Powers.

## PHILOSOPHIES OF EMPIRE.

In "Mein Kampf" Hitler made no secret of his grandiose ambitions. Because he wrote openly, nobody believed him. Because no one believed him, he was able to realise his dreams. Some wit has said that the only lie in "Mein Kampf" was the truth he told about Russia! Anyhow he has secured his Pan-Germania—far more than Mittel-Europa—a home, as he predicted, for the future 250 million Germans. But this European integration is merely an anticipatory stage to world domination. The Third Reich under Hitler is the expression of his doctrine of Nordic supremacy—the Teutonic stud-farm purged of ethnic dross. In "Mein Kampf" he proclaimed his ultimate world objective. That people alone, he tells us, which conserves its racial purity, will inherit the earth and dominate mankind.

Already in his embryonic organisation of subjugated Europe we have enough evidence of his conception of Empire. Germania enthroned at the centre is to monopolise industrial supremacy. The function of her satellites is to provide food and raw materials for the dominating central power. Labour is to be reduced to mediæval peonage. No collective bargaining, no trade unions, no defensive corporate organisations are to be tolerated. The paramount Herrenvolk will wield control of all armed force, and domestically and externally the bloody arbitrament of the sword will be the deciding factor. This so-called union of peoples under the beneficent might of Germany already stands revealed as a despotic compulsion, a totalitarian tyranny. The much-vaunted mass economies and scientific organisation of Europe resolve themselves into a vast integration blotting out the national individualities and diversified cultures of its people, and mechanising and sterilising its life to that of the ant-heap.

What we see in Hitler's conception is the exact anti-

thesis of the philosophy of our own Empire—the outcome of a thousand years of history broadening down to freedom and individualism from precedent to precedent. The Parliament Act of 1911 and the Statute of Westminster III (1931) attest the consummation of that drive and urge for liberty which is the dynamic factor in British history and Colonial policy—Home Rule for India and the progressive realisation through Indirect Rule of ultimate autonomy for the greater units of the dependent Empire.

### DUAL TASK FOR CIVILISATION.

In Lloyd-George's "History of the Great War" there is a prophetic passage dealing with Lord Balfour's war mission to the United States and the unique honour accorded him of addressing Congress. Himself, always an ardent champion of a British-American entente, he regards Lord Balfour's message as "one of the most valuable gains resulting from the World War which may yet prove an asset of vital importance for achieving international order and securing the foundation of world peace." This is the task which the British Empire and America are now called upon to undertake in conjunction. Theirs is a dual obligation—to win the war and also to win the peace. They alone can guarantee and validate the world security which is the indispensable prerequisite to world re-construction. This is no mere wishful thinking. Under the inspiring leadership of Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt—*par nobile fratrum*—such dual functioning in peace as in war is already assured. In his great speech to the White House correspondents on 15th March, 1941, President Roosevelt said:—"The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale that has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattering nights of the past ten months. In this historic crisis Britain is blest with a brilliant and great leader in Winston Churchill. The British are fighting in the front line of civilisation at this

moment. And they are holding that line with a fortitude that is the pride and inspiration of all free men on every continent and every island of the sea."

"Our country is going to play its full part, and when—no, I did not say if, I said when—when the dictatorships disintegrate, and pray God that will be sooner than any of us now dare hope, then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world construction for the good of humanity."

He not only paid a magnificent tribute to the British people for their calm endurance of a purgatory. He pledged the United States before the world to assume her share of due responsibility for the establishment and conservation of law and order as the necessary preliminary for world reconstruction.

### **PRESIDENT AS EDUCATOR.**

Arriving at Cairo last month (May, 1941), to take up the position of air observer with the British forces in the Middle East, Captain James Roosevelt, eldest son of the President, was sharply realistic. When queried by news-hawks as to America joining in, his terse reply was—"She is already in—in all but name." Having exhausted all possibilities of non-belligerent aid America now prepares to take the final leap and to pass from her bold measures of all help short of war to belligerent participation—first by naval convoys and fighter air patrols and then through inevitable German reprisals to full fleet and aircraft action. It requires no exercise of imaginative faculty to make such prediction. President Roosevelt's consummate technique in educating, marshalling and guiding the public opinion of his 130 millions of people of widely-diversified racial origins and sympathies has already led them three parts of the way.

The "New York Times," greatest national paper of U.S.A. says—"Away with camouflage. We are already in. Let us then say so."

"America Comes In" is a startling caption. "She is already in—in all but name." Let us see.

### **POST-VERSAILLES DISILLUSIONMENT.**

First let us recall American reaction to the Versailles settlement and her repudiation of all Wilsonian commitments including the guarantee of the French frontiers and membership of the League. The great republic seemed to have intensified her policy of impenitent isolationism. Evincing Pacific Ocean affinities, now almost traditional with her, she thaws out of icy aloofness to the extent of calling the Washington Conference and affirming its resultant treaties including the Nine Power Pact. She accepts a qualified, but undeclared tutelary responsibility for China. After compassing the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, by her 1924 Exclusion Act she sears the Japanese soul with the stigma of racial inferiority. She scrupulously by treaty maintains naval parity with Britain. Her tariff walls accentuate the world's drift to economic autarchy and partly influence Britain in ring-fencing the Empire at the Ottawa Conference. Repudiation by Europe of war debts fortifies her determination to keep out of all external political commitments on the Atlantic side. The failure of the Disarmament Conference, the fiasco of the Weimar constitution, Germany's withdrawal from the League, Japan's break over Manchukuo, Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia, League impotence, Hitler's seizure of the Rhineland and the fatuity of opposing appeasement policies—all this kaleidoscopic evidence of disgruntled and predatory nationalism hardened America against Europe.

### **MY PROPHETIC SOUL.**

So when at 3 a.m. on 1st September, 1939, his ambassador to France rang through to President Roosevelt reporting German divisions blasting deep in Poland no wonder he cried, with his inner knowledge of the hopeless

sectionalism and sickness of Europe—"Well, Bill, it's come at last. God help us all." Without definitely committing his great nation to war the President could do nothing effective to counter this carefully elaborated, long prepared conspiracy against civilisation. His ambassadors both in Germany and France had long familiarised him with Hitler's stark philosophy of barbarism and with his ruthless preparations for European dominance. They had even prepared him for Stalin's cynical double-crossing of Britain and France. Although he was able to terminate the Japanese Commercial Treaty, he was blocked by the Senate in his first attempt to repeal the arms embargo in favour of the democracies. That repeal came with the crash after Munich.

### **EVERYTHING SHORT OF WAR.**

Thenceforth the President sets steadily to work with his policy of all aid to the democracies short of war. Space admits of nothing but a summarised progress report. By his speech at Kingston the President extends the Monroe Doctrine to cover Canada. Following on the visit of Mackenzie King a Joint Defence Board is set up for both countries. Lord Lothian's appointment as British ambassador intensifies American munitions effort on behalf of Britain. The historic swap of fifty destroyers for the use of eight British Atlantic bases is earnest of active co-operation. Follows the Lend and Lease Bill which cuts out fiscal bars to British supplies and constitutes America the arsenal for the democracies, and provides for them unlimited credits without actual financial obligation. America accepts convoy and patrol help for Britain on her section of the Atlantic and also provides for the Royal Navy ten revenue cutters. Next comes the virtual abolition of the Neutrality Act so as to reaffirm the doctrine of the freedom of the seas, to allow American convoy and transport in the combat zone and so place the tools of warfare actually in British hands. The inevit-

able sequel to this venture is, of course, naval warfare. The violent American reaction to the sinking of the Robin Moor proves this. And not less President Roosevelt's forceful challenge of the Hun blockade.

### **NATIONAL INDUSTRY GEARED TO WAR.**

By the end of March, 1941, fully 3,500 planes had been delivered to Britain alone, and the tempo of American production was steadily rising with a total of 18,000 assured for the year. The peak, however, cannot be reached till 1942 when the German rate will be more than overhauled, but in the meantime the elaboration of the multiplicity of blue-prints, the production of the vast supply of necessary machine tools, the erection of hundreds of munition plants, and the gearing to war of civilian factories go steadily ahead. Not only did America release a substantial percentage of her own mercantile marine for British needs. She set in hand a vast shipbuilding programme to augment that supply for her ally. Moreover she commandeered for British use ships in American ports belonging to Germany, Italy, and France. The President's great speech in the last week of May gave conclusive evidence of submarine ravages on Atlantic shipping. With the consent of the British Admiralty he disclosed that the current rate of destruction was fully double the total shipbuilding output of America and Britain combined. Admiral Jellicoe's revelation to the American Admiral Sims, in April, 1917, was hardly more impressive. The President's great speech affirmed not merely the fast-increasing provision of all war supplies for Britain, but pledged their safe delivery. America becomes in reality the arsenal of the democracies and the tools of war are henceforth to be safely placed in British hands. The amazing potential of American industry now oriented to war can surpass in output any possible rival integration in that sphere.

## **THE SURE FOUNDATION OF COMMON IDEALS.**

This rapidly-growing approximation in ideals and practice holds in itself wonderful potentialities of beneficence for mankind. It is based on the surest of foundations—common racial origin, common law, common language, and common literature. Although this statement is subject to the qualification that Britain is now displaced, through promiscuous immigration on a vast scale, by Europe as the mother-country of America, it must not be forgotten that the people who founded the United States, who drew up the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and established American traditions, derived from a British origin. They were, with Britain, joint heirs of Runnymede. They followed the Common Law of England. They sat at the feet of Blackstone and Coke. In religion, as the story of New England so well reveals, they found their inspiration in the English Bible. In literature they shared our glorious heritage of Shakespeare and Milton. Their love of freedom, their abhorrence of tyranny, drew from the centuries of British evolution to political and constitutional liberty, and was fortified by the writings of Locke, and the speeches of Chatham, Burke, and Fox. Despite the sufferings of the colonists under the short-sighted policy of Lord North and his associates the famous Olive Branch Petition, so peremptorily rejected by King George III, was couched in terms of warm loyalty to the Sovereign and warm attachment to the Empire. The secession was not inevitable. Its justification lies in its liberalising reaction on British Colonial policy.

## **AMERICA ELDEST OF THE DOMINIONS.**

When we read the subjoined tribute to America from Field-Marshal J. C. Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, whose proved loyalty to the Empire was won for us by the generosity of the Vereeniging Treaty, we feel that in this hour of the world's crucifixion the

liberalism and the idealism of America cannot betray its trust nor evade the high call to discharge its full responsibility.

"The Dominions have even stronger affiliations to the U.S.A. than Great Britain has. There is a community of outlook, of interests, and perhaps of ultimate destiny between the Dominions and the U.S.A. which in essence is only the first and the most important of them. Through the British Dominions British policy is ultimately tied up with the U.S.A. in a very profound sense. That fundamental affinity coming from the past and stretching to the future is and must be the true foundation of all British foreign policy. Any policy which ignores it or runs counter to it is calculated to have a disruptive effect on the Commonwealth as a whole. We are here on bedrock which we ignore at our peril. We must preserve that general orientation to America in our foreign policy which has distinguished it since the War."

### **INTERESTS OF NEW ZEALAND.**

Along with the other Dominions fringing the Pacific New Zealand feels it has a special interest in the security of this vast stretch of water. Long before the potentiality of Oriental menace threw a sinister shadow across this oceanic expanse, New Zealand, even in the stage of budding national consciousness, had welcomed American assumption of responsibility in the Pacific as a form of collateral security for her own interests.

New Zealand at a comparatively early date—*vide* Governor Gore-Browne, Vogel, and Seddon—developed some consciousness of national destiny in the South Pacific, and of national status too with a ring of satellite islands about her. She was never content to play the part of a vermiform appendix to the Australian corpus. Our Samoan mandate is merely belated fulfilment of Seddon's appeals and admonitions to the Imperial Government. His robust Imperialism was actually resent-

ful of foreign intrusion into the South Pacific. Of German Pacific expansion he had instinctive dread.

Our centennial publications have recorded the ubiquity of American whalers in New Zealand waters and the large numbers that made our ports their bases for South Pacific operations. But nothing in these maritime contacts or in early trading relationships can compare in interest or significance with the flare-up in governmental circles in 1870 of pro-Americanism as an alternative policy to complete dependence on the Motherland. The story of the Fox-Vogel attempt in that year to gain a stable market for our wool in America, and of the British Government's reaction to New Zealand's alleged policy of Imperial disintegration is given in Dr. A. J. Harrop's "England and the Maori Wars."

The New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Fox, applied through the United States Consul at Dunedin to the American Government for the free entry of our wool. His plea to America was the exchange of raw material for manufactures. He emphasised the desirability of direct intercourse apart altogether from pecuniary profit.

Fox's unconventional action, which was fully endorsed by Vogel as Colonial Treasurer, was undoubtedly prompted by resentment over the withdrawal of the Imperial forces (18th Regiment) from New Zealand at the conclusion of the Maori Wars. The New Zealand Government claimed that the military defence of the country was an Imperial obligation to be defrayed by the British taxpayer. British statesmen handled the delicate situation most tactfully. Their policy was to meet petulance, resentment, and abuse with dignified forbearance. To quote "The Times," Britain's policy was "to prove to the world we have learnt a lesson of wisdom since our angry endeavours to maintain the integrity of the Empire permanently alienated the affection of the American colonists."

Though New Zealand abandoned her endeavour to throw the burden of its war expenses on Britain, she demanded naval protection in the form of two warships. She disclaimed any desire for neutrality in the event of war involving Britain and any desire for disintegrative nationalism. And so the large and tolerant attitude of Britain appeased the piqued youngster from substituting American intercourse and tutelage for the Imperial apron-strings.

Since that disgruntled break New Zealand has consistently in the realm of external affairs shown her unquestioning realisation of her full dependence for protection on Imperial security. Her functioning as an entity has depended entirely on the aegis of the Royal Navy. Her gift of a battle cruiser at the time of the post-Dreadnought scare, and her contribution of a million pounds to the cost of constructing the Singapore Base both implemented this policy.

New Zealand has enough common sense in spite of camouflaged republicans and self-sufficiency theorists to recognise that she finds her sole security in the security of Britain. She has no wish to don the label of national independence or flirt with secessionist lures. She recognises these for what they are—poor figments in a world of brutal international realities and predatory ambitions.

At the same time the two visits paid to New Zealand by the American Navy have evoked national enthusiasm and intensified conviction of the basic identity of our interests in the Pacific. The recent visit to Auckland and Sydney of American naval squadrons was interpreted by our people as earnest of American intention to co-operate with Britain and her Pacific dominions in repudiating the Japanese doctrine of a New Order in the East and as challenging her assumption of Asiatic hegemony.

## ADMIRAL MAHAN PREDICTS ALLIANCE.

As complement to the noble tribute from a great soldier of world-wide fame, Field Marshal Smuts, let us add the prophetic endorsement of Anglo-American co-operation by the American Admiral A. T. Mahan, who for fifty years past has remained the world's greatest authority on the influence of Sea-Power on history. From his classic works we take these extracts:—

"Let each of these two nations be educated to realise the length and breadth of its own interest in the sea. When that is done the identity of these interests will become apparent. The identity cannot be established firmly in men's minds antecedent to the great teacher, Experience. And Experience cannot be had before that further development of the facts which will follow the not too far distant day, when the United States people must again betake themselves to the sea and to external action."

"In this same pregnant strife the United States will doubtless be led by undeniable interests and aroused national sympathies to play a part, to cast aside the policy of isolation which befitted her infancy and to recognise that now to take her share of the travail of Europe is but to assure an inevitable task in the work of upholding the common interests of civilisation."

"Formal alliance between America and Britain is so far out of the question, but a cordial recognition of the similarity of character and ideas will give birth to sympathy, which in turn will facilitate a co-operation beneficent to both."

"A common tongue and a common descent are making themselves felt, and are breaking down the barriers of estrangement which have separated too long men of the same blood."

"Beneath considerable differences of political form there lie a common inherited political tradition and habit

of thought. The moral forces which govern and shape political development are the same in either people and so the possibility of a gradual approach to concerted action becomes increasingly striking."

### **CONVERGENCE OF DESTINIES.**

"The New York Times" has said editorially:—"The interdependence of the two greatest independent powers on earth is the most significant fact in this quarter century." Winston Churchill in the House of Commons acclaimed this union of interests and hailed the coming of the day when its full fruition would stabilise peace for the world. And in this convergence of destinies, motivated by common ideals, it is worth while noting a parallel devolution of Imperialist ambitions. American policy in the Philippines, Cuba, Central America, in the Pan-American Union, and in Roosevelt's Good Neighbour Policy has its counterpart in British withdrawal from Egypt and Irak, in the Statute of Westminster III defining the independent nationality of the Dominions, in the concession of full adult suffrage to Ceylon and Jamaica, in Lord Lugard's colonial policy of Indirect Rule, in the promise of Dominion status for India consequent upon resolution of domestic communal feuds, and in the whole new Colonial philosophy of associated rule and progressive evolution to autonomy.

### **TWIN BASTIONS OF LIBERTY.**

Inspired as they are with the same spirit and vested with the necessary man-power and military resources, these two great powers are the stronghold and rampart of democratic liberty. There are no others left to-day to share their championship. The task of salvaging civilisation rests with them. They have not arrogated to themselves this high function as arbiters of the world. It is a sorrowful compulsion, even though it is their finest hour. There is no wish to assert and to establish per-

manent Anglo-Saxon or rather British-American paramountcy. That might breed—and especially among the Asiatic and Latin peoples—bitter reactions. It might lead to hostile camps and belligerent alliances. Their paramountcy is assumed in this task of world stabilisation because no other competent powers are in sight to-day—none that have the necessary power to make good these ideals. But when this ugly portent of gangsterdom is laid low, and when, under the overwhelming sanction of the pooled might of Britain and America, chaos and anarchy give way to peace and order, the work of reconstruction can begin. But whether there remains British-American paramountcy or collaboration or not, one indispensable requirement must remain and that is the provision of international coercive force, sure, swift, efficient, overwhelming, to validate international order.

### CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT.

—*Par Nobile Fratrum*—

It is often said that in a great crisis the emergency throws up a great man. That aphorism has surely convincing justification to-day. The hour of President Roosevelt's advent to presidential office was a trial by fire. No weak nor ordinary man could so speedily have restored national confidence and heartened a dispirited people. His conquest of his own cruel physical disability steeled him to face any odds, to dominate any difficulties. The massive registration of public opinion in his favour—even for an unprecedented third term of office—at the risk of straining sacrosanct convention—is signal evidence of his greatness and his magnetic appeal to his people. A close student of world affairs, divining years ago from the intimate reports of his European ambassadors the tragedy which was irresistibly marching upon that doomed Continent, President Roosevelt has striven with matchless technique to educate, marshal, and lead his sheltered people to a realisation of the

impotence of isolation as national defence. And when the blast of war came and nations dissolved before its withering impact, none assessed more eloquently, more appealingly than he the shining miracle, the superb fortitude of Britain's defence, or realised more intensely the joint responsibility of Britain and America for the defence of civilisation.

Deep calls unto deep. In Churchill and Roosevelt we have in character the great twin bastions of human liberty, and in genius the spokesmen and champions of all the ideals of democracy. Each is the expression of his country's genius, and each the inspiration of free men everywhere. Their names will be bracketed in history as two who refused to despair of the ideals of mankind, and who by their example and eloquence inspired their peoples with their own undying faith.

Mankind had fondly imagined that the first World War was fought to end war once and for all. When Germany was defeated a new cycle of peace and equity and prosperity would dawn on the world.

The League of Nations and especially its idealistic Covenant were acclaimed as the harbinger of the millennium. Men pinned their faith on the United States of Europe, on the League of Nations, the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World. War was denounced as a fiendish vestigial anachronism, for ever more relegated to oblivion. The Trades-Unions' Conference decreed a national strike in the event of re-armament. The Army was whittled to insignificance, and the Navy was reduced to a dangerous level utterly inadequate to fulfil basic Empire obligations.

The tendency to clutch at rainbow illusions and to adopt short-cut methods to the millennium flies in the face of man's bitter experience. Like the poor, wars are always with us. There is no panacea, no incantation, for their exorcism. One need not be a cynic to acknowledge this, and with it the fact that man in his evolu-

tionary struggle has not yet sloughed off enough of his animalism to eliminate war.

### **BRUTAL GERMAN REALISM.**

It is significant commentary on this recurrent idealism to quote the reactions of the Prussian military mind to the terms of the Versailles Treaty. Far from succumbing to a mood of passive defeatism Marshal Hans Von Seeckt and his kidney seized on the derided Cadre of 100,000 garrison and police troops as a skeleton framework for the rehabilitation of the proud German Army. As soon as the war was over the Prussian leaders set to work to redress the scales. They sedulously spread the myth of the infallibility of the great German General Staff, the invincibility of the German Army.

The minds that now dominate Germany, and will continue to dominate that unhappy people after their inevitable defeat, will again be those who are influenced by force and force alone. Perverted education has warped and poisoned the mind of this generation for their life-time. Germany must in this war be so decisively beaten and on her own soil, terms must be so enunciated from Berlin itself, and a world police force to ensure the effectiveness and reality of such terms so organised and maintained as to bring home remorselessly to the consciousness of this militant breed that its slogans are a delusion and a lie, and that its only hope for recognition as a nation is its peaceful co-operation in the reconstruction of a shattered world, and its loyal observance of the decencies of international life.

For the Prussian military mind there is no conversion in this generation. It wants hatching over again and hatching different. No orgy of pactomania, no idealism, no generosity will make the slightest appeal or deflect its sinister purpose. Post-war sentimentality generated 200 pacts within 15 years—many of them broken before the ink was dry. Your Prussian respects only one thing on

this earth and that is overwhelming inexorable force. We may mouth idealism but here before our very eyes is hardening of nationalism, a world conspiracy of gangsters; we see the worship of militarism, the deification of brute force, the supersession of Christ by Hitler's jungle code; we see Germany reverting to type, baleful, resurgent; we see Italy megalomaniac; we see Japan arrogantly truculent. Horrors unutterable defile the world and stain the record of man—the burglary of Manchukuo, the rape of Abyssinia, the travail of Spain, the red horror of Poland, the betrayal of Finland, the gory shambles of China, the bloody purges of Russia, the crucifixion of Greece—and still the Beast, red in tooth and claw with ravin, mauls fresh victims and tramples on all pacts and codes of truth and honour, and all the hard-won moral heritage of man.

### THE WAY OUT.

In spite of all cross-currents and back eddies, the great stream of human progress steadily makes its course towards an infinitely distant but majestic goal. Man knows how perilously near his narrow nationalistic affiliations, his reversionary tribalism, his sectionalism, his failure to integrate for common basic interests of security and progress, have come to shattering his civilisation. The call for world peace is now insistent. These two great wars at an interval of only a quarter of a century have whitened half Europe with bleached bones, dotted the ocean with wreckage, and drained dry the economic resources of the world.

Something effective must be done if man is to safeguard civilisation. Panaceas and wraiths we have by the score, but only one political solution which can stabilise the world and safeguard peace until the work of reconstruction can begin. The greatest compensation for the ravages and beastliness of the present World War is the growing co-operation of the English-speaking

peoples. Here, if anywhere, we have a durable foundation on which to rear a better world and by which to safeguard its continued existence. In our violent reaction from war we lose sense of proportion. We envisage a millennium in our time. We turn deaf ears to the lessons of the past. We forget the inevitability of gradualness. Our credulity and faith lead us to build on shifting foundations, and the disillusionment is so terrible as to generate cynicism and despair.

In these critical days the British Empire, great though it is, indeed five times greater than the Roman Empire when at its peak under Trajan, cannot stabilise the world and stem the tides that ebb to reversion. Here to-day in the world are at stake not only democracy, but the whole way of man's life that makes for freedom, justice, and individuality. These precious things are threatened with extinction by totalitarian despots whose policy is dictated by power-lust and implemented by brute force, terrorism, and lies. We witness the ominous conjunction of three great Have-Not gangster powers, the pitiless collocation of their doped forces armed with the hellish paraphernalia of perverted science.

Surely such a disease needs a drastic remedy. We can neither expect nor ask for a world reaction or even for a continental league of policing nations. Insidious propaganda, disintegrating doctrines, emasculate organised opposition and despiritualise or devitalise the gangsters' foes and victims. For any lasting recovery of the world to sanity we must have an agency capable of vindicating peace after victory, capable of guaranteeing security to a sick world, not only then, but during the whole subsequent process of economic recuperation and reconstruction.

### **ANGLO-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION.**

That is why Anglo-American co-operation under the form of a probationary entente hardening into federal

union is the only practicable scheme in sight to save the world from anarchy and recurrent brigandage. It is the indispensable pre-requisite not only for winning the war but also for stabilising peace and policing the world. Everything else in the political sphere wilts away under critical analysis. There was a time when after the Napoleonic war Britain's three-power marginal naval strength enabled her in masterly aloofness to police the world or at least to maintain for a century the Pax Britannica. That proud ascendancy has gone never to recur. Britain can no longer single-handed maintain her Atlantean burden of Empire and vindicate her way of life to mankind.

What can be more logical than again to cail upon the New World to redress the balance of the Old? To-day America cannot refuse the call. Nay more, she cannot even resent it. Not out of altruism, not to underwrite the fortunes of our Empire, not because she speaks the same tongue, or is joint heir of Runnymede will she come into the War, but because Britain fights her fight while she saves her own life, because Britain is saving the world's freedom and preserving that way of life which is America's as much as her own.

Nazi propaganda, astute, foxy, treacherous as the devil himself, has made America suspicious of British cajolement and exploitation. Only slowly has she responded to the full meaning of this world tragedy. First it was a "phony" war, "a sit-down Fake," and none of her business. "Not a man—not a nickel." Then as the fifth columnists got busy, and Goebbels poured out his twenty million pounds in propaganda for the glorification of the matchless military prowess of the Reich, practically the whole nation developed jitters, and were satisfied that Britain was going out, and that America must make the best possible terms with the victor. Then came Dunkirk with its revelation of the shining soul of British democracy. Still "it can't happen here." Followed the

epic repulse of the air blitz-kreig. America somersaulted in a night, and increasingly recognised that Hitler had failed to substantiate his schedule and had sustained a major reverse. Gallup polls rocketed, and a pro-British wave swept the country.

It is safe to say that in spite of America's numerically strong fifth column, and the rabid fanaticism of political alienism, public opinion in the United States is now satisfied that the British can hold out and that British sea power can be steadily maintained. It is doubtful whether British prestige was ever at a higher pitch in America than it is now. A great tribute of sincere admiration is paid there to the R.A.F. and their ascendancy over the Luftwaffe is generally recognised. Despite the unfortunate assessments of Lindberg, and ambassadors Kennedy and Cudahy, and isolationists of that kidney, the people of America as a whole realise that Britain has achieved the apparently impossible. Nothing has so swung American sympathy and American confidence to Britain as the superb fortitude of the people in facing the fury from the air. The epic stand of the British, their stoic endurance of horrors untold, their grim resolve to carry on, their refusal to contemplate defeat—these things of the spirit have touched Americans deeply.

They can now realise the full import of Sir Robert Vansittart's iron lines :—

"We shall bear in silence

The clanging furies of our finest year.

Why? The world knows. And we abhor fat phrases.

Enough to tell ourselves each day our toil

Is given for ends that need no other praises

Seeing they are dearer than our blood and soil."

### **ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.**

Anglo-American relations since the great secession of 1776 have had extraordinary vicissitudes and provide a chequered story. Perhaps the Rush-Bagot Treaty follow-

ing on the Treaty of Ghent at the close of the Trade War of 1812-15 between Britain and the United States may be profitably taken as the starting point of a new era of peace and friendship. It was in commemoration of the centenary of the Rush-Bagot Treaty that President Harding delivered an address at Stanley Park, Vancouver, on the occasion of the first visit (1923) of a President of the United States to a foreign country. His speech is engraved on a memorial plaque in the Park as follows:—

"What an object lesson of peace our two countries present to the world. No grim-faced fortifications guard our frontiers, no spies prowl about our border hamlets. No huge battleships patrol our dividing waters."

"Our only protection is a simple gentlemen's agreement that we two peoples will live in peace and truthfulness. By our faith in a parchment bond we keep the peace and find our joint security."

In this connexion it is of interest to review the earlier arbitral relationship of Britain and United States, for its history has provided an interesting range of cases in international law. The important fact that emerges is the anxiety of both peoples to remit their disputes to mediation and conciliation in lieu of force as a determining factor. Notable too has been their loyal acquiescence in the verdict of the arbitral tribunal, no matter how inimical to their respective interests. These cases comprise disputes as to international boundary lines, e.g., Alaskan Boundary, Oregon Boundary, Maine Boundary, and Venezuelan Boundary, and also the Newfoundland and Behring Fisheries Disputes, Nicaraguan Canal, and Bulwer-Clayton Treaty, Panama Canal, Alabama and Trent cases. Some of these cases, notably the Venezuelan Dispute and the Alabama Case gave rise to heated discussion and to some very provocative dispatches, but in the end common sense and a desire to keep the peace dominated resentment. The two countries in this way

gave the world an example of restraint, dignity, and magnanimity.

Nor does America forget the part played by England in the inauguration and support of the Monroe Doctrine. Implicitly President Roosevelt recalled it in a recent national broadcast when he referred to the influence and operations of the Royal Navy in the Atlantic as those of a friendly power. That tradition has been consecutively maintained for the last 120 years. Even ex-President Thomas Jefferson in those early days (October, 1823), wrote an historic letter to President Monroe advocating an alliance with Great Britain and her detachment from the European autocracies. Allied with British sea power America, he said, would be invulnerable. With her, therefore, America should nurture a sedulous friendship.

"Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of anyone or all upon earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. Nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."

Madison President (1809-17), fully concurred with these words:—"It is particularly fortunate that the policy of Great Britain, though guided by calculations different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe . . . . It must ensure success in the event of an appeal to force; it doubles the chance of success without that appeal."

In the Chinese War of 1857-60, during the attack on the Taku forts by the British Navy, June 1859, Captain Tatnall commanding an American cruiser, spontaneously provided American help in evacuating British wounded and defied the laws of neutrality by permitting his men to work British guns. Captain Tatnall is credited with words on this occasion that have since become a proverb—"Blood," he cried on going to Admiral Hope's rescue, "is thicker than water."

Again during the Spanish-American War in 1898 the Royal Navy held the ring, and furthermore, at Manila Bay, Admiral Chicester swung his ships to Admiral Dewey's aid when the German Admiral von Diederichs tried to intervene. Nor should it be forgotten that in 1899 British support and immediate endorsement made America's promulgation of the John Hay Open Door Doctrine for China final and definitive.

To-day this tradition is intensified. The American Navy League magazine makes no reservations—"The United States and Britain unitedly control the seas, the world communications, and in large measure the credit, and world resources without which no nation can sustain a war. They should conclude a convention providing that on outbreak of a major war the two Powers will use their united strength in closing the seas to the commerce of war participants, and not permit the seas to be used for hostilities." It is not Pecksniffian, it is plain horse sense, to say that to-day these two great powers have evolved to a plane beyond predatory ambitions, beyond territorial gains and selfish war and power lusts. They alone of this type of nation have the necessary power to implement these ideals. They surely have a call from civilisation to salvage the world. Without their joint power at its back no democratic world order can function.

### **AMERICAN ISOLATIONISM ONLY A LEGEND.**

Although America lost no occasion of proclaiming her international limitations under the Monroe Doctrine, and repeatedly emphasised the Jeffersonian warning against European entanglements, she by no means secluded herself from the family of nations. Washington in a letter to La Fayette expressed the hope that America, though the latest entrant into the comity of nations, would prove herself an efficient and co-operative member. No sooner had the War of the American Secession terminated

than Jay concluded a Treaty of Amity with England and Benjamin Franklin a Treaty of Commerce with France. The American Republic was represented at both Hague Conferences and in the subsequent International Court of Justice at the Hague. The American fleet operated in the Mediterranean against the Barbary pirates. America formally welcomed Kossuth to her shores as a political exile and ambassador. She summoned the famous Washington Conference of 1921-22 and was a signatory to the various pacts resulting therefrom. She entered the Great War in 1917 and represented by President Wilson took a foremost part in drawing up the Treaty of Versailles and in promulgating the Covenant and devising the constitution of the League of Nations. In the Pacific she evinced an even more decided affinity for an international role. As early as 1853 Captain Perry awoke Japan from her hermit-like seclusion and mediaeval sleep. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki he secured American rights to trade and commerce. America's acquisition of the Philippines and Hawaii in 1898 and the immediate development of Oahu Island as her chief Pacific base gave earnest of her future activities in that ocean. As early as 1899 John Hay proclaimed the doctrine of the Open Door for China. After the Spanish War America took over Guam in the Ladrões as well as the Philippine Islands. At the time of Japan's Manchukuo break America invoked the Nine Power Treaty in favour of recognition of the political independence and territorial integrity of China. The Stimson doctrine of the non-recognition of territorial gains won by force was repeatedly emphasised by America against Japanese territorial encroachments in China. America has developed important trading interests with Japan and China as well as with the Far East generally. In recognition of these material interests she has established shipping lines in the Pacific and inaugurated the two trans-oceanic Clipper lines by air.

Japanese aggression and interference with American trading interests in China have been drastically criticised by America. The recent extension of the Axis Pact to include Japan has seen a hardening of American attitude and a determination to protect American interests. At the valedictory banquet in Tokio to the ambassador-elect for U.S.A., Admiral Nomura, Matsuoka's roseate interpretation of Japanese-American relations elicited a terse comment from the American ambassador, Mr. Grew—"America is impressed only by facts and actions regardless of the persuasive garb in which they are dressed."

### **AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC.**

There is consequently no evidence of American isolationism in the Pacific. The foundation of the Pan-Pacific Union at Honolulu followed by the Institute of Pacific Relations was due entirely to American students and publicists. Japan's rapid evolution into an aggressively nationalistic totalitarian state under Premier Konoye has been countered by a firmer American policy and a rapid strengthening of American naval forces and bases in the Pacific. The embargo placed on the export of scrap iron and oil is aimed primarily at Japan. Moreover America is dependent for rubber and tin upon supplies from the Dutch East Indies and from British Malaya. She will not tolerate the establishment of the projected Japanese economic regional area, if it in any way restricts her economic freedom and interests.

In this policy America is fully aligned with Britain—indeed in great measure her strong attitude has now encouraged Britain to abandon her policy of appeasement which was forced upon her by the jeopardy of her position in the European War. In their evidence given before the Naval Committee of the Senate Admirals Taussig and Stark testified that the American Navy was not in a position to fight a fleet action against the Japanese Navy unless it could count upon the use of

Singapore as a base. Pearl Harbour in Hawaii is fully 4,000 miles away from Tokio, and is out of the question as a base for any aggressive naval action on the part of America against Japan. The limit of such action is at most only 2,500 miles. In this connexion the building of a dry dock at Sydney by the Federal Government at a cost of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds lends weight to the report that negotiations are now in progress between Britain and America with a view to their joint utilisation of Singapore and Australian bases.

### **IMMENSE SIGNIFICANCE OF JOINT POLICY.**

What we are witnessing in this British-American rapprochement is not merely the pooling of resources to defeat gangsterdom in this war. It is something more. It has an immediate and also a long distance objective. Democracy throughout the world now recognises that its very existence is at stake. The predatory despotic powers have already prepared their blue prints for the new world order. In these revolutionary drafts the British Empire disappears. It is the chief spoil of the putative victors. Its disjecta membra are distributed among the Have-Nots. Die Woche in Germany published a geographical sketch of the new order. Germany is to have Europe and the major portion of Africa. Mussolini is mollified with part only of northern Africa. It is hardly obvious for what services this territorial sop is given. The Spanish bribe is Morocco. Russia is left intact with certain accretions from western Asia and the suzerainty of India. Japan has her coveted Far Eastern Economic Area with her ring of economic satellites comprising Manchukuo, China, Indo-China, Malaya, East Indies, Philippines, and inferentially, New Zealand and Australia. These are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for her dominant industrialism. America is left in possession of the western world, but only under severe economic disabilities, and under the ægis of Hitler's vast European integrated economy.

It is, however, only fair to the Japanese to add that their quadrante division of the world including India in their orbit along with Malaya, Australia, and New Zealand, is now (May, 1941), officially endorsed by Dr. Goebbels. Germany, too, squeezes out Russia from the Near East, Iran, and Afghanistan. The British Empire disappears and America is isolated out.

### **A DUAL FUNCTION FOR CIVILISATION.**

That is a little foretaste of what defeat will mean for Britain, for America, and for democracy everywhere. The first aim of British-American co-operation is to win the war and to ensure their way of life in the world. Then comes the long range objective, the holding of the peace, the stabilisation of the world, the provision of security pending the economic reconstruction of the world on sounder lines. There is no other agency in sight that can validate this objective except the full pooling of resources, forces, and bases by the English-speaking peoples. Here we build upon a rock, and not on the shifting sands of idealism or millennial visions. These two peoples are the protagonists of democracy. These two have a common faith, a common language, a common destiny. They derive from a common cultural source. They have a basic identity. They are drawing rapidly together under a common peril.

Already we have abundant fruition from this moral approximation, this realisation of a common duty to mankind, this consciousness of the terrific menace of the Axis powers to decency and sanity in this world. Britain and America have agreed to the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to Canada; they have pooled machinery for Canadian-American Customs observance; they have kept the Rush-Bagot Treaty and its obligations of mutual trust and honour for over 120 years; they have agreed to pool Atlantic bases; they are now negotiating for a

similar pooling of naval bases in the Pacific ; already they have jointly utilised Canton Island as an aviation base in the Pacific ; they are now joining technical and industrial resources in worsting their common foe ; and this co-ordination of resources and this reciprocity of action are daily accentuating into a spiritual bond attuning them in unison to vindicate a better future for mankind. Their common stream of destiny, to quote Winston Churchill, rolls on like the Mississippi in irresistible flood to better days. No leader of thought in either great people would dare to counter such fusion of interests and aims. America's recent massive endorsement of President Roosevelt as national leader for a third term is unique testimony to public approval of his pro-British policy. He has exhausted the possibilities of neutral aid and has now in his declaration of Atlantic patrols and naval convoy thrown down the gauntlet to Germany.

### **AMERICA A COLOSSUS IN RESOURCES.**

America alone is a self-sufficient colossus. She possesses at least twenty of the twenty-five materials essential for industry. She produces 60 per cent. of the world's oil. She has five times the industrial capacity of the whole of Europe. She produces half the manufactured goods of the world, including three times more motor-cars than the rest of the world put together. In radio apparatus, in telephones, in railway provision, and in motoring road mileage she outbuilds the whole world. Her aviation lines carry more in freight and passengers than all others put together. She consumes three-fifths of the world's silk, two-thirds of the world's rubber, half the world's coal, and half the world's raw materials. She possesses 167,000 factories, and can gear so many to war production that her output of munitions and mechanised armament can easily transcend the total European production. America uses more steam and electric power than the rest of the world. With her

economic self-sufficiency, specialisation in technical education, and with her traditional efficiency in mass production she can on the material side sway the whole fortunes of the war.

Allied with the British Empire she brings into this tremendous collocation almost illimitable resources and productivity. These two great peoples when once they organise their resources for war cannot only batter gangsterdom to subjection, they can do more. They can hold the peace pending reconstitution. In no other way can world security be validated. To this task they have set their hands. Their mission is one of vast import to the human race. Wrecked, tortured, and distracted with this seemingly endless iteration of wars, mankind is apt to despair of a future wherein rapine and brute force invest themselves with the shattering lethal forces of perverted science.

### **THE SUPREME TASK BEFORE US.**

The conjoined might of the British Empire and of America now comes in to redress the balance and guarantee a future for the race, and a peaceful civilisation wherein each people may develop its individual gifts and contribute its genius and its resources to the communal welfare. This is a transcendent ideal which can never be achieved by emotional acquiescence in credulous pacificism and idealism. Gangsterdom will be only too quick to exploit either quixotic generosity or sentimentalism.

The spirit, the traditions, the resources of these two great peoples are equal to the task. Their two great leaders have the idealism, they have the will, and must inspire their peoples to the task. They can do no other. What we ask of them is that they subordinate every issue to this commanding task, to this transcendent duty. What we enjoin upon them is the marshalling of all their resources and forces, the pooling of their bases and pos-

sessions in safeguarding the decencies of human life and the age long heritage of freedom, justice, and tolerance which is their joint possession. This is no idealistic project, no wraith of a visionary. This is common sense—the only basic cardinal thing which can salvage civilisation from this blizzard of atavistic cults and fetishes and horrors. Both fight for their preservation against a common foe. Both fight for even a greater end than this. They fight that democracy may live, that liberty may endure, that man's life may be a free evolution in peace to the full flowering of personality and the highest standards of abundant life.

### **THE BRITISH-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.**

No greater attainable political ideal than a fully co-operative entente between America and Britain and the Dominions of the Empire is in sight. The call to its realisation is surely imperative. Such a vision has evoked the British-American Co-operation Movement. Originating under most influential auspices in Sydney, Australia, in 1939, its operations have spread in that continent and on to New Zealand. At Wellington an active branch has been founded through the initiative of Mr. A. Leigh Hunt. Its impressive endorsement includes that of the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Peter Fraser, who is official Patron. The main function of the Movement is educative and interpretative. It seeks first and foremost to cultivate by education and intercourse that mutual knowledge and understanding between our peoples and those of the United States on which sympathy and friendship must be based. It is absolutely non-political, non-racial, undenominational. Without the slightest derogation of our status as a Dominion of the British Empire it seeks to put forth tendrils of attachment to America, believing profoundly that in such entente between the most powerful democracies of the world—the British Empire and America—lies both our own sal-

vation and that of the world. It is so prompted not merely by selfish considerations of security, but by sincere consciousness of the vast issues now at stake. The Movement merits the fullest support of the enlightened public. It is marred by no tinge of jingoism or sectional policy. Its aim is broad, practical, comprehensive—the alignment and conjunction of irresistible forces to save civilisation from reversion to the pack, and all the hard-won heritage of mankind from the exploitation of vicious gangsterdom.

### **AMERICAN IDEALISM.**

Our people know something of the incomparable national resources of America, its amazing productivity, its economic self-sufficiency, and unique diversity of natural endowment. They have been familiarised also with the colossal scale of its industrialism, with its inventiveness, engineering and architectural genius, and with its intolerance of conservative or obsolescent methods. What they do not know, what they do not hear about, or if they do hear dismiss with incredulity, is the idealism that is such a motivating factor in the American character. Whether inspired by the ideals of the Mayflower pioneers and the New England states, or deriving from missionary ardour to give the world something of her social security and standards of living, and way of peaceful democratic life, this idealism is a real force in American life. Over there more than in any other country of the world wealth is regarded as a trust for one's fellows. It has definite fiduciary responsibilities to the welfare of the nation. Apart altogether from such princely foundations as the Carnegie Corporation and Rockefeller Foundation, which dower the whole world with discerning largess for the promotion of education, scientific research, and hygiene, there are fully 150 such institutions with a capital of over 200 million pounds, giving away 12 million pounds a year for philanthropic and educational purposes. One half of their gifts is devoted to national or international purposes.

In no other country of the world is there higher regard and greater provision for education. The Rockefeller Foundation for many years past has been giving annually 650 valuable travelling fellowships among 40 nations for training in health work. It has spent over two million pounds in the allocation of 6,000 such fellowships. The American International Board finances graduate students in all parts of the world, and gives millions to foreign universities. America led the world in its provision of free secondary education for all, just as she leads the world in her missionary enterprises.

America's immediate remission of the Chinese Boxer Indemnity for the purpose of Chinese education, the conception and world-wide development of Rotary Clubs, the world Junior Red Cross movement, the Hoover post-war work in Europe, repatriation of war refugees, the financing of League of Nations humanitarian work—these are some of the large scale national activities testifying to American idealism.

The international policy of The Good Neighbour, the Rush-Bagot Treaty with Canada honoured for over 120 years, the consistent devotion to arbitration and conciliation as a means of solving international disputes, repudiation of aggressive imperialism, the Open Door policy in the Far East and missionary and educational service for China, these again are evidence of humanitarian zeal. Her capital Washington—"city of magnificent distances," immune by law from all industrial defilement, opulent in parks and liberal amenities, graced with monumental symbolism and noble memorial architecture, bodies forth the dignity and idealism of a great nation.

### A PRACTICABLE IDEAL.

The god within us—the spark within the clod—*divinae particulam aurae*—hints, foretokenings of very God manifest in human lives of voluntary self-sacrifice; these attest the divine mission of the human spirit. Yet how painfully

slow its growth to the full stature and majesty of Jesus Christ! The way for mankind up the Great Divide is long and hard and bloody. Neither this generation, nor the next, nor the next, will reach the great mount of Vision, but only grope God-ward like us through darkness.

Why deceive ourselves with emotional illusions? We must take the long view and recognise the proportion of things. We can surely take heart by realising what man has already sloughed off in his long trek from sheer animalism. He is so far the highest creation of God—even though Hitler can unleash his primordial lusts. He is not the puppet of destiny, the plaything of the Gods. He has a divine endowment, the mastery of his own fate, the conscious free-will to rebuild this sorry scheme of things we call civilisation. Throwbacks, reversion to type, come and go, but man's soul keeps on its spiritual quest. Vex his ghost how e'er he will, at this stage the problems of his soul are insoluble, even though he dimly desecrates his infinitesimal part in a majestic plan.

To envisage Utopias after this war adds cruel disillusionment to human misery. These millennial visions of the transfiguration of human life by World Leagues are at this stage mere catch-words like the Federation of the World and the Brotherhood of Man. They are sonorous and impressive to the unwary, but in reality mere verbal hocus pocus. Like the ecstasies of socialists, they appeal to every soft-hearted boy and every soft-headed man. No wonder a man like Winston Churchill versed in real life, refuses to be drawn in wartime into a storm of domestic controversy over such ideal schemes. The Hun desires nothing better than such controversy, faction, and schism on our part. Our job is national unity for national war effort and victory. Everything else can wait.

That there will be post-war change and drastic change all thinkers agree—changes international and changes

national and domestic. Certainly the post-war world will not be fooled and humbugged by Teutonic hypocrisy again. This time a martyred world has the Hun's measure. Leaders of international repute with high sense of responsibility do not commit themselves in their prognostications beyond (a) the policing of the world by overwhelming international sanction; (b) with this exception, general national disarmament; (c) free economic collaboration in trade, access to raw materials and markets; (d) co-operation perhaps in federal blocs, but always with guarantee of free national polities.

We have one great assurance—one thing that in this flux of emotionalism stands like a rock in the stream. That is our joint pledge with America to take up the post-war task of world reconstruction, and in no sectional spirit. Ours is the supremely vital job of pooling all resources to vindicate security and peace while the brains of the world concentrate on the task of making civilisation foolproof. There may be a gravitation to federal blocs with either cultural or merely geographical ties. Certainly there will be a definite entente, if not federal organic union, between the two great branches of the English-speaking people. Around this latter nucleus will inevitably be grouped in active co-operation, if not in organic union, not merely the British Dominions, but the democratic states of the world. British-American union will widen into a comprehensive synthesis of allied states—first those of the same policy, and then, as its potentialities for world beneficence and stabilisation are exercised and realised, all nations that seek peace and security and the rule of law and order. The primal necessity is world security against gangsterdom and Calibanism. Seek ye this first and all the rest shall be added unto you. When victory is won the conjoined might of the British Empire and America can alone guarantee such peace to a tortured and shattered world. Nothing in our dreams and visions of world construction should be

allowed to prejudice such collaboration. In that consummation lies the supreme justification of the British-American Co-operation Movement.

"She is not yet ; but he whose ear  
Thrills to that finer atmosphere,  
Where footfalls of appointed things,  
Reverberant of days to be,  
Are heard in forecast echoings  
Like wave-beats from a viewless sea,  
Hears in the voiceful tremors of the sky  
Auroral heralds whispering  
    'She is nigh ! ' "

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